

Message Text

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ACTION EA-06

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FM AMEMBASSY MANILA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4241

CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MANILA 7830

LIMDIS

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E O 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, RP

SUBJ: HABIB CALL ON PRESIDENT MARCOS

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: IN A JUNE 6 CALL ON PRESIDENT MARCOS LASTING AN HOUR AND 45 MINUTES, ASSISTANT SECRETARY HABIB HAD THOROUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON US/PHIL RELATIONS, RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN SEA AND CURRENT U.S. POLICY IN THE REGION. MARCOS SPELLED OUT WITH GREATER PRECISION THAN HERETOFORE GOP OBJECTIVES IN RENEGOTIATIONS OF U.S. BASES. END SUMMARY

2. HABIB REASSURED MARCOS AS TO THE CONSTANCY AND RELIABILITY OF U.S. POLICIES IN SEA, AND PROVIDED THE PRESIDENT WITH THE GENERAL FINDINGS HE HAD OBTAINED DURING HIS VISIT TO THE OTHER ASEAN COUNTRIES PRIOR TO HIS ARRIVAL IN MANILA. IN RESPONSE TO MARCOS' SKEPTICAL QUESTIONING OF THE NATURE OF U.S. COMMITMENT TO THE PHILIPPINES, WHICH HE TERMED "NOT QUITE AUTOMATIC", HABIB INDICATED THAT THERE IS ABSOLUTELY NO QUESTION OF U.S. INTEREST IN A FREE PHILIPPINES, AND THAT MUTUAL INTERESTS OF THE TWO COUNTRIES WERE SUCH THAT THERE COULD BE NO DOUBT OF THE COMMITMENT UNDER THE MUTUAL SECURITY TREATY. HE ADDED THAT IT WOULD BE BETTER IF THE GOP DID NOT PUT TO US REQUESTS FOR
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THINGS WHICH COULD CREATE DIFFICULTY FOR THE U.S. (I.E.,

AN ALLUSION TO THE REPORTED PHILIPPINE INTEREST IN A NATO-TYPE AGREEMENT), AND HE SUGGESTED IT WOULD BE BETTER NOT TO THINK OF TAMPERING WITH THE MST. HABIB EXPRESSED THE CONVICTION THAT THE CONGRESS SUPPORTS OUR SECURITY TREATY WITH THE PHILIPPINES.

3. HAVING EXPRESSED PLEASURE AT HEARING THE ASSURANCES THAT HABIB HAD RENDERED, MARCOS POINTED OUT HOWEVER THAT THE PHILIPPINES COULD NOT AFFORD TO RELY COMPLETELY ON THE U.S. FOR ITS DEFENSE. THE U.S. COULD SERVE AS THE DETERRENT TO SOVIET NAVAL FORCE, BUT IT WOULD BE UP TO THE PHILIPPINES TO HANDLE THE PSYCHOLOGICAL THREAT THAT HAS DEVELOPED IN THE REGION, AND TO DEAL WITH SUCH PROBLEMS AS THE MUSLIM REBELLION IN THE SOUTH. HE REGISTERED SOME CRITICISM OF THE U.S., WHILE EMPHASIZING THE NEED FOR PHILIPPINE SELF-RELIANCE, IN RECALLING THAT THE U.S. HAD FALLEN SHORT IN ITS MAP DELIVERIES AT A CRITICAL TIME A COUPLE OF YEARS BACK WHEN THE PHILIPPINE MILITARY WAS ATTEMPTING TO DEFEND THE SOUTHERN ISLANDS AGAINST THE MUSLIM REBELS. HE CLAIMED THAT TERRITORY AND LIVES HAD BEEN LOST BECAUSE OF THE FAILURE OF THE U.S. TO MEET ITS COMMITMENTS AT THAT TIME. THE PRESIDENT EMPHASIZED THAT HE MENTIONED THIS INCIDENT NOT IN BITTERNESS, BUT TO MAKE THE POINT THAT THE VALUE OF OUR SECURITY RELATIONSHIP COULD BE QUESTIONED UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES.

4. WITH RESPECT TO BASE NEGOTIATIONS, MARCOS STATED THAT THE RENEGOTIATIONS WERE NOT IN A SPIRIT OF PANIC IN THE WAKE OF INDOCHINA, BUT HAD OF COURSE BEEN STUDIED PERIODICALLY SINCE 1965, AND CERTAINLY RATHER INTENSIVELY SINCE 1970-71. EMPLOYING A TERM WHICH HAD ARISEN REPEATEDLY IN A PREVIOUS CALL BY HABIB ON SECRETARY ROMULO, THE PRESIDENT SAID THAT THE MOMENTUM OF PUBLIC OPINION IN THE REGION WOULD NO LONGER TOLERATE THE SITUATION OF "EXTRA-TERRITORIALITY" FOR AMERICAN BASES. HABIB COMMENTED THAT THE U.S. FULLY APPRECIATES THE NEED TO MAKE ADJUSTMENTS, AND THE U.S. HOPES TO BUILD ON RATHER THAN STAND IN THE WAY OF ASIAN NATIONALISM. MARCOS REPONDED: "I WISH YOUR POLITICAL LEADERSHIP WOULD APPRECIATE ASIAN NATIONALISM."

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5. HABIB TOLD THE PRESIDENT THE U.S. IS CURRENTLY REVIEWING ITS POLICY TOWARD SEA AND THE RESULTS WOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH ASIAN PERCEPTIONS OF THE PROPER ROLE FOR THE U.S. MARCOS SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THE U.S. SIDE WOULD REQUIRE 3-4 MONTHS TO STUDY THE BASE ISSUE, AND THAT HE HAD BEEN ADVISED BY CINCPAC ADMIRAL GAYLER THE U.S. WOULD REQUIRE CERTAIN FACILITIES AT SUBIC WHICH WOULD BE FOR THE EXCLUSIVE USE OF THE SEVENTH FLEET. HE ADDED,

HOWEVER, "I PROPOSE THEY HENCEFORTH BE CONSIDERED PHILIPPINE BASES, OPERATED BY THE FILIPINOS." HE STATED THAT THE PHILIPPINE SIDE IS PREPARED TO COMMENCE TALKS IMMEDIATELY, AND THE GOP-UNDER ALEX MELCHOR'S DIRECTION - HAS DONE SOME STUDIES RELATED TO POSSIBLE INDUSTRIAL USAGE OF SUBIC. MARCOS CONTINUED: "I WANT TO MAKE CLEAR THAT WE DO NOT WANT IN ANY WAY TO WEAKEN U.S. CAPABILITIES IN ASIA."

6. MELCHOR, WHO WAS PRESENT ALONG WITH SECRETARIES ROMULO AND PONCE ENRILE, STATED AMBASSADOR SULLIVAN HAD BEEN THE ONE WHO HAD INFORMED HIM OF THE 3-4 MONTH TIME-FRAME REQUIRED FOR CINCPAC STUDIES. MARCOS SAID HE WISHED THAT WE BE PREPARED FOR FULL-SCALE NEGOTIATIONS BY OCTOBER. MELCHOR SUGGESTED THAT PRIOR TO THE OPENING OF FORMAL NEGOTIATIONS, CERTAIN INFORMAL EXCHANGES SHOULD OCCUR FIRST. REVERTING TO THE SUBJECT OF INDUSTRIAL USE OF THE BASES, MARCOS POINTED OUT THAT THERE HAD BEEN U.S. FIRMS WHICH HAD ALREADY EXPRESSED AN INTEREST IF THE BASES ARE CONVERTED FOR COMMERCIAL USE. THE JAPANESE KAWASAKI FIRM HAD AN INTEREST IN DEVELOPING A SHIP REPAIR FACILITY AT SUBIC, WITH A LONG-RANGE PLAN FOR SHIP CONSTRUCTION. AGAIN, MARCOS EMPHASIZED THAT WHATEVER EMERGES

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MANILA 7830

LIMDIS

IN THE PRESS FROM OFFICIAL OR UNOFFICIAL SOURCES, THE U.S. MUST UNDERSTAND THAT THE GOP IS SINCERE IN NOT WANTING TO WEAKEN THE U.S. IN THIS PART OF THE WORLD, OR ITS CAPABILITIES IN THE PHILIPPINES, BUT AT THE SAME TIME IT

IS ESSENTIAL THAT THE EXTRA-TERRITORIALITY ELEMENTS OF THE U.S. BASES MUST GO AND THE BASES MUST COME UNDER PHILIPPINE CONTROL. HE ADDED THAT THIS INSTINCT DOES NOT DERIVE FROM EVENTS IN INDOCHINA NOR FROM A PHILIPPINE DESIRE FOR LARGER AMOUNTS OF U.S. AID. HABIB ASSURED HIM THAT SINCE THE PHILIPPINES SHARED WITH THE U.S. THE DESIRE THAT THE U.S. CONTINUE TO MEET ITS OPERATIONAL REQUIREMENTS IN THE REGION, HE WAS CERTAIN THAT A MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND SATISFACTORY ADJUSTMENT COULD BE DEVELOPED IN THE RENEGOTIATION PROCESS.

7. SEVERAL OTHER SUBJECTS WERE TOUCHED ON DURING THE DISCUSSION. MARCOS ASKED FOR THE U.S. POSITION ON THE SPRATLEY ISLANDS. HE WONDERED WHETHER THE PRC MIGHT RAISE THE SUBJECT DURING HIS UPCOMING TRIP. HABIB RESPONDED THAT HE DID NOT THINK THE CHINESE WOULD RAISE THE SUBJECT, ALTHOUGH WE WILL BE INTERESTED IN WHAT THEY SAY SHOULD THEY DO SO. AS FOR THE U.S. POSITION, HABIB SAID THE U.S. HAD NOT PARTICULARLY STUDIED THE MATTER. MARCOS DID NOT PRESS.

8. DURING A REVIEW OF THE ATTITUDES HE HAD DISCOVERED IN THE OTHER ASEAN COUNTRIES, HABIB SAID THAT HE WAS EN-
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COURAGED BY THE GROWING INSTINCT FOR COOPERATION UNDER THE ASEAN UMBRELLA. HABIB STATED THE US BELIEVES ASEAN IS AN EXTREMELY USEFUL MECHANISM FOR SEA. MARCOS, COMMENTING ON THE FRANKNESS WHICH THE LEADERS IN SINGAPORE, JAKARTA, AND KUALA LUMPUR HAD OBVIOUSLY DISPLAYED IN THEIR TALKS WITH HABIB, PUZZLED OVER WHY THESE ASEAN MEMBERS WERE SO OPEN WITH HIM. WHEN HABIB SAID HE ASSUMED THEY SOUGHT U.S. UNDERSTANDING OF ASEAN'S POSITION, MARCOS QUICKLY ADDED THAT ASEAN IS WELL AWARE OF THE NEED FOR THE U.S. PRESENCE IN SEA, BUT IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT THE ASEAN COUNTRIES DEVELOP THEMSELVES AS WELL IF THEY ARE TO DEAL WITH THE THREATS CONFRONTING THEM.

9. ALMOST AT THE END OF THE SESSION MARCOS ALLUDED TO THE HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEM, NOTING THAT "SOME OF OUR AMERICAN CONGRESSIONAL FRIENDS ACCEPT DISTORTED INFORMATION ABOUT THE SITUATION HERE." HABIB SAID THAT THE GOP HAS A PROBLEM IN CONGRESS, BUT HE DID NOT THINK IT WOULD CREATE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS IN THE LONG-TERM RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES.

10. BOTH AT THE BEGINNING AND THE END OF THE SESSION, HABIB DISCUSSED IN GENERAL TERMS CURRENT PRC FOREIGN POLICY INTERESTS AND SHARED WITH MARCOS SOME OF THE U.S. INSIGHTS INTO PRC ATTITUDES. HE INDICATED TO MARCOS THAT

THE U.S. WOULD BE INTERESTED IN LEARNING FROM HIM,
AFTER HIS JUNE 7-11 VISIT TO CHINA, HOW THE CHINESE PLAY
VARIOUS ISSUES DURING THE PHILIPPINE VISIT. PRESIDENT
MARCOS PROMISED TO PASS ON TO US WHAT VIEWS HE OBTAINS
FROM THE CHINESE.

11. COMMENT: MARCOS FOR THE FIRST TIME IDENTIFIED THE
DEGREE OF GOP INSISTENCE ON TURNING OVER OF THE U.S. BASES
TO PHILIPPINE CONTROL. HE GAVE NO HINT OF TIME-FRAME
IN THIS REGARD, BUT HE WAS FIRM IN HIS PRESENTATION.
WHILE THE DISCUSSION WAS AMICABLE IN ALL RESPECTS, THE
NATIONALISM THEME WAS APPARENT THROUGHOUT THE PRESIDENT'S
REMARKS. THE STRESS HE PLACED ON PHILIPPINE SELF-RELIANCE
FIT THE PATTERN WELL. SIMILARILY, HE WAS CLEARLY IRRITATED
BY FRASER'S EFFORTS TO INTERFERE, AS HE PERCEIVES IT,
IN PHILIPPINE DOMESTIC AFFAIRS.
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